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USIB-D-40.1/1  
7 November 1961

UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE BOARD  
COMMITTEE ON PROCUREMENT OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS  
COMMITTEE ON EXPLOITATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chairman, United States Intelligence Board

SUBJECT : Chicom Publications

REFERENCE : USIB-M-166, 1 August 1961, para. 8

1. At the USIB meeting under reference the Chairman requested that the undersigned prepare a summary of facts on the subject of restrictive exports of Chicom publications from the "exploitation" and "procurement" points of view, which might serve as the basis for appropriate publicity.
2. Attached herewith are two papers, one from the exploitation point of view, the other from the procurement point of view.
3. The paper on procurement is classified because it discusses in some detail the problems we have encountered in obtaining Chicom publications. We feel that it should not be used in whole or in part in connection with any publicity on this problem. The paper on exploitation is entirely unclassified and could be used as the basis for a news story. The Chairman of the Committee on Exploitation of Foreign Language Publications feels, however, that the basic problem with which we are faced is initially one of procurement rather than the post-procurement exploitation, and, therefore, he would be guided by the feelings of

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PROCIB. The USIB members of PROCIB are unanimous in their view that no publicity should be given to the problems which we face in obtaining Chicom publications. Experience has indicated that such publicity would decrease rather than increase the number of these publications which we are still able to obtain.

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Chairman, Committee on Procurement of  
Foreign Publications

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Chairman, Committee on Procurement of  
Foreign Language Publications

Attachments

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Approved For Release 2000/08/24 : CIA-RDP68-00069A000100060007-5

Tab B

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## STATUS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS

The Association for Asian Studies released in April 1961 an accessions list entitled Chinese Periodicals-International Holdings 1949-1960. This accessions list, which includes the holdings of 23 widely scattered repositories, such as the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, National Diet Library in Tokyo, and Union Research Institute in Hong Kong, gives substance to a frequently discussed subject in the world of academic research, that is, the ban by Communist China of the export of its publications. As. G. Raymond Nunn, editor of the accessions list, says in his introduction, "An increasing poverty of world holdings /of Chinese Communist periodicals/ since October 1959, the date of the imposition of restrictions on periodical sales, will be evident from the list."

The implications of such a ban were voiced in Japan when on 25 November 1959 the Tokyo Mainichi Shimbun stated that such a ban, if enforced, would wreck Japanese research on Communist China.

The ban, which did not become drastically effective until mid-1960, was a subject of frequent comment in corridor discussions at the Symposium on Chinese Communist Science, sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York last December. The paucity of information on scientific developments in Communist China was a matter of considerable concern to most of the Symposium speakers. This paucity has now become almost a vacuum with the almost complete unavailability of current scientific and technical journals.

Researchers in the field of Chinese economy are similarly thwarted in their current studies on Communist China. Statistical data in all fields of the Chinese Communist economy have dried up.

Agricultural statistics, despite some unreliability, were abundantly available on the National and some provincial levels of China until 1960. Such statistics now appear only rarely and usually on a very low level, e.g. a commune or more usually a production team. The more fundamental problems in the managerial direction of commune agriculture cannot be properly studied at present from publications. For instance, the Chinese Communist propaganda that communization is to be pushed further does not agree with Chinese refugees' reports in Hong Kong that the commune system is collapsing. Adequate published data to properly study the status of agriculture is lacking.

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A checklist of deficiencies of published information in the broad fields of industry and economic services would be almost as big as a catalog index of subjects in these fields. Spotty reports on short term production in individual plants, factories, and mines appear in New China News Agency releases and in the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao and certain other Peking newspapers which are allowed outside of China. Most of these reports are in percentages and most of the press space is devoted to so-called technical innovations, the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle by factory workers, and the need to use the dialectical theory of contradictions in all things including the operations of a blast furnace. Up to the present, 1961 production plans for the various sectors of the economy have not appeared in any available literature. Annual budget and work reports on national, provincial, and municipal levels, formerly published with regularity, are completely missing in available publications.

Except for overweening propaganda the same ignorance prevails in the non-economic fields of Communist China. Almost unavailable is any information on religion, education (except for indoctrination on the laborization of intellectuals and the pursuit of the rectification program of "blooming and contending"), and minority nationalities. Laws, regulations, and even treaties appear only rarely. Theoretical discussions on Chinese domestic problems have all but disappeared, and even those in the field of international affairs seem watered down in the one available theoretical journal, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag).

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## PROCUREMENT OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS

In reviewing the procurement of Chinese Communist publications through the facilities of the U.S. Foreign Service and related channels during the period 1949-1961, one is impressed by the fact that the availability of Chicom publications has been most unstable and has varied from month to month and year to year.

The major problem affecting orderly procurement of Chinese newspapers, periodicals, books and monographs has continued to stem from the lack of U.S. diplomatic representation on the mainland of China. Without means for direct and open contact between U.S. publications procurement officers and Chinese book agents, dealers, and publishers, the wide interests of the U.S. Government for Chicom publications have been forced primarily into the Hong Kong area of competing black marketeers, of commercial book stores not sufficiently well stocked, and of smugglers with items of sometimes questionable value. During the past twelve years, the acquisition of overtly published Chinese mainland publications has been largely dependent upon far-from-overt means of supply.

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By 1955, paralleling to a degree the post-Geneva atmosphere and its effects on USSR publications availability, the open market availability of Chicom publications started to increase significantly. At the beginning of 1955, for example, the Consulate General at Hong Kong acquired about 380 newspapers and 200 journal titles. More than 3,800 book and monograph volumes were received in 1955, an increase of 27 percent over 1954.

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During 1956 and 1957, newspaper receipts from open market commercial sources in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and elsewhere covered 902 titles, and included many from the "mosquito" (rural) press; the journal receipts tended to level off at around 400 titles. For most of 1958, the 1957 levels were maintained, although book receipts tended to decrease during the second half of 1958.

With the beginning of 1959, fewer and fewer renewal subscriptions to Chicom newspapers and journals were accepted. Books and monographs advertised in the book catalogs of Guozi Shudian, the international Chicom book outlet, also showed a marked reduction. By mid-1959, instances of poor quality paper stock used by the Chinese became increasingly numerous--photographs in the Chinese press, of poor quality at best, became almost unrecognizable. Most significantly, efforts to obtain multiple copies of newspapers, journals and other publications were unsuccessful, and the acquisition program became in reality a large-scale reproduction program whereby single copies were photocopied for wide dissemination to governmental and certain non-governmental research organizations. The U.S. Consulate General at Hong Kong formally reported in October 1959 the existence of an "embargo" initiated by Chicom authorities to control the export of their publications. Severe reductions in the receipt of Chicom publications at this time were noted by Hong Kong, to the degree that the continued existence of the Consulate General's Press Monitoring Unit, responsible for issuing several summaries and reports to the Chinese press, was in jeopardy.

By the middle of 1960, the drop in availability had reached alarming proportions: Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, Tokyo, Paris, Prague, to mention the most important posts of acquisition after Hong Kong, reported separately that Chinese communist publications had almost disappeared. By 1 July 1960, regular receipts from all posts totaled only 34 newspapers and 106 journals. In nearly every case, only one (1) copy of a given journal or newspaper was obtained. The following reasons or theories were advanced from several quarters at this time to explain the denial: (1) there did exist a true paper shortage; (2) the Chinese objected to the "intelligence" the West obtained from such publications; (3) it was part of the rightist-revisionist movement; and (4) a moratorium of from six months to one year had been placed on most publishing while the entire Chinese publishing industry was reviewed.

The following example will illustrate the degree to which the availability of certain Chicom publications is controlled. An advertisement in the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao of 13 July 1961 announced that beginning in August 1961, the Peiping Chieh-fang-chun Pao (Liberation Army News), daily organ of the

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People's Liberation Army, will issue two special editions each month featuring the militia of Communist China. The advertisement follows:

"Beginning August this year (1961), the Chieh-fang-chun Pao will issue two additional special editions each month featuring the militia.

"The special militia editions are intended principally for militia cadres who are not attached to production work on the hsien, municipal, commune, plants and mines, and colleges and vocational schools levels.

"Subscriptions by hsien and municipal organizations and local organs are governed by the following regulations.

"1. Subscriptions are limited to 15 copies for hsien and municipal militia organizations and one copy for communes, colleges, vocational schools, and militia organizations above regimental level in plants and mines.

"2. Subscriptions are limited to 20 copies for hsien (municipal) (militia) organizations, 10 copies for local and special district (militia) organizations.

"3. Subscriptions are limited to one copy for hsien (municipal) national defense associations and five copies for provincial (municipal) national defense associations.

"Methods of subscription: Copies may be subscribed by submitting a letter of introduction from hsien, municipal militia organizations or from organs above the military sub-district level to local post offices.

"Subscription prices: Single copy, .02 yuan  
Monthly rate, .04 yuan  
Quarterly rate, .12 yuan

"For the time being, subscriptions are not available to individuals."

Throughout 1961 we have been receiving regularly 13 newspapers and 40 journals. Books and monographs are averaging 400 volumes a month. These figures include receipts from all sources, open and classified.

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It is a matter of conjecture as to whether other profitable channels or sources may exist which will bring into the governmental community additional Chicom publications. It is worthwhile describing the channels which are 25X1X4□ currently effective or have been fully exploited: (1) overt facilities of U.S. Government and private (commercial) organizations; (2) [REDACTED] (3) exchanges, formal and informal, between the National Library at Peiping (as well as the Library of the Academia Sinica there) and governmental or non-governmental libraries and institutions in the U.S., England, France, Scandinavia (e.g., the Scandia Plan), West Germany, Japan, Hong Kong, India, and selected areas in the Far and Middle East; and (4) commercial vendors and outlets in all the capitals of Eastern Europe, i.e., Moscow, Berlin (East), Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest, and Sofia. There is strong evidence that channel (2) above will remain our most dependable source during this difficult time.

In view of the above, it is strongly recommended that no public disclosure be made of those methods of procurement which are not also available to non-governmental users.

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